# THE CRISIS

# THE CRISIS

## A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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# The CRISIS

Vol. 11—No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1915 Whole No. 61

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## PUBLISHER'S CHAT

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# THE CRISIS

## A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Conducted by

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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W. E. B. DUBOIS.

# THE CRISIS

Vol. 11 —No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1915 Whole No. 61

## Along the Color Line

### MUSIC AND ART

MRS. META VAUX WARRICK FULLER, the sculptress, of Framingham, Mass., has designed a beautiful medallion donated to the Equal Suffrage League, as her contribution to the suffrage campaign fund. The Evening Framingham *News* says: "It beautifully typifies the message of equal suffrage without having any of the limitations of propaganda. The medallion is of plaster, finished in ivory or white. On it are three heads in profile—a man, a woman and a child—with this motto from an old poem: 'Each unto each the rounded complement.' It will be a thing of beauty and a message of truth long after the vote is won throughout the country."

¶An interesting drawing by L. Pasternak, designed to serve as an illustration to an essay on Aldridge and Taras Shevchenko, has been reproduced in the International Studio. Of the drawing, "The American tragedian, Aldridge, and Taras Shevchenko, the poet of the Ukraine," it is stated—"The national poet of the Ukraine, who was also a gifted draughtsman and etcher, became acquainted with the American tragedian Aldridge in 1858 at the house of Count Fedor Tolstoi, at that time Vice-President of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, and the acquaintance thus initiated developed into a warm friendship, in spite of the fact that they could understand one another only through the medium of an interpreter. Shevchenko drew a portrait, now in the Tretiakoff Gallery in Moscow, and the occasion has been reconstituted by L. Pasternak in the drawing now reproduced."

¶In an article on "The Impress of Personality" in *The Musical Quarterly*, Mr. Percy Grainger, the Australian composer, emphasizes the importance of the American Negro's work in music, and says of the New York Clef Club: "It is more than worth one's while to travel across the Atlantic to hear . . . The compositions they interpret are art music, and reveal the strict harmonic habits of the written art, but the ease with which those members of the club who cannot read musical notation learn and remember intricate band and choral parts by heart (often singing tenor and playing bass) and many individualistic and rhapsodical traits in their performances suggest the presence of instincts inherited from the days of communal improvization. The qualities are nowhere more in evidence than in their exhilariting renderings of two fascinating choral numbers by that strangely gifted American composer, Will Marion Cook's 'Rain Song' and 'Exhortation,' in themselves works of real genius and originality that deserve a world-wide reputation."

¶The Riverside Male Quartet of Boston, Mass., assisted by Mr. W. H. Richardson, baritone, was heard at Stratham, N. H., before the New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs, early in September.

¶Mr. Roland Hayes, tenor, of Boston, Mass., was presented at a musical held by the Lake Placid Club at Lake Placid, New York, at the close of the summer season. Mme. Marcella Sembrich, who

was a noted member of the audience, commented warmly on the singing of Mr. Hayes.

¶Two pictures by Tanner were loaned to the Chicago Exposition. There were also pictures by young Harper, who died just when he attained success, and one by the late Miss Moss.

¶Lyndon H. Caldwell of Syracuse, New York, a concert pianist, is on tour in the South.

¶Ned Weyburn, who has staged so many of the large Broadway shows, is said to be the man who introduced ragtime to Broadway, sixteen years ago. He tells how he first heard the rhythms, when on a vacation down in Alabama from an old colored man, who played the banjo. He caught the measure by placing a piece of paper over the old man's instrument.

¶A number of colored actors are filling engagements in vaudeville houses in London, England, with great success.

¶Mr. Melville Charlton has passed the associate examination of the American Guild of Organists, which is authorized by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York. He received his certificate and is authorized to affix to his name A. A. G. O. One of the examiners was Horatio Parker, Doctor of Music of Yale University.

## SOCIAL UPLIFT

THE social club formed by the colored printers in the government service at Colon, Panama, has celebrated its first anniversary.

¶A Better Babies Contest held recently in Washington, D. C., brought out many fine specimens of babyhood.

¶Prohibitionists are enlisting the help of colored voters in South Carolina to carry the state.

¶The Leonard Street Orphans' Home, Atlanta, Georgia, takes care of seventy homeless orphans. The asylum needs help. Miss Chadwick, with the help of the older girls, manages the home.

¶Many colored veterans, who are left of the soldiers who fought in the Civil War, were in the encampment and review of the G. A. R., held recently at Washington, D. C.

¶Miss Anna J. Gilmore, a great granddaughter of Tobey Gilmore, a slave and revolutionary soldier, suggests that the old homestead, built about 1800 at Raynham, Mass., be bought by the town for a home for the aged.

¶Mrs. Lillian H. Childress, the first colored graduate of the Library Course in Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind., is in charge of the Colored Branch of the Evansville, Indiana, Public Library.

¶John Brown of Dinwiddie, Virginia, saved a Bohemian family, at the risk of his life, during a severe storm, which destroyed their home. Mr. Brown brought the family to his own home.

¶Mr. Edward A. Abbott of Chattanooga was able to convince the commissioners of that city that it would be a mistake to spend a large sum to acquire property for a park for colored people, which could not be kept safe for women and little children. The commissioners voted not to make the purchase.

¶Rev. Henry A. Boyd, in his financial report of the Negro Baptist Publishing House, tells of a business which has spent many millions of dollars and published millions of books.

¶Emancipation Day was celebrated in Spokane, Washington, with many enjoyable ceremonies. In New York City there were formal exercises at one of the playgrounds in honor of the day.

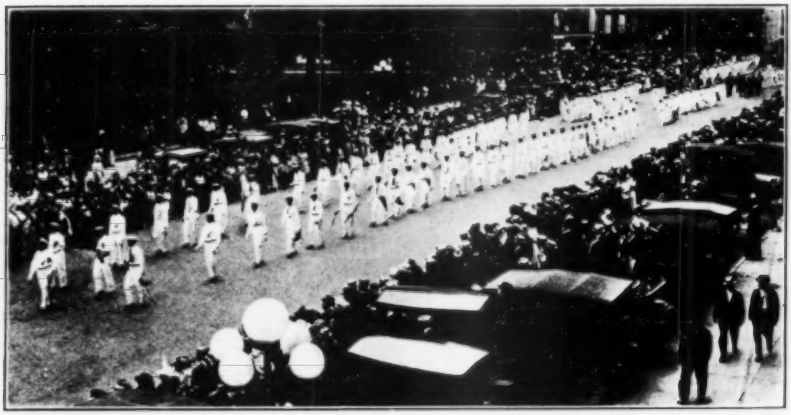
¶The Colored Branch of the Louisville Public Library, Louisville, Kentucky, celebrated its tenth anniversary recently.

¶The Negro children of Jacksonville, Florida, will have three new graded schools and a new high school. This is the result of a fight which the colored citizens made for a larger share of the new school appropriation.

¶In response to action taken by Governor Willis of Ohio, the State Medical Board is forbidden to ask future applicants to state color and race and send a photograph.

¶There are six vacancies on the Philadelphia school board. Colored people of the city are working to place a competent man of the race in one of them.

¶Emmett J. Scott has been in conference with a representative of the Thomas Ince Company, concerning the production of a moving picture play,



PART OF COLUMBUS, OHIO'S KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS, IN PARADE

which will be the story of the Negro in America. This is to be an answer to Thomas Dixon's "Birth of a Nation."

¶Joshua A. Crawford has been elected chairman of the ward committee in Ward Thirteen, Boston, Mass. He has also been nominated for the Legislature.

¶Lincoln Settlement, Brooklyn, New York, has been successful in providing suitable playground facilities for the children of the neighborhood. Under the direction of Dr. V. Morton Jones the settlement has won many friends.

¶Since the Boys' Reformatory at Mt. Meigs, Alabama, became a state institution, it has been able to serve many boys. The chidren receive an industrial training. The colored women of Alabama started the institution.

¶The Negro Year Book 1914-15, gives a long list of colored people who during that time received the Carnegie Medal for heroism. Among the number are several children.

¶The colored people of Washington, D. C., will be given model houses, in the Ellen Wilson Memorial Homes, soon to be built in that city.

¶The Colored Citizens' Union of Orange, New Jersey, is asking the support of the colored voters of that city for their candidates.

¶The two "Fellows" named by the National League on Urban Conditions for this year are Forrester B. Washington and Miss Carrie L. Dukes. They will study at the school of Philanthropy and Columbia University, New York City, and do social work under the supervision of the League.

¶The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City has established headquarters in a colored neighborhood in that city.

¶Colored and white people are attending the demonstration of farm work, held in rural districts in Alabama under the Smith-Lever Fund.

¶Several thousand Pythians took part in the parade during the eighteenth biennial Supreme Lodge session of the colored Knights of Pythias in Columbus, Ohio.

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## MEETINGS

AMONG the plans of the Kentucky Exposition to be given next year are a pilgrimage to Lincoln farm, and an extended program of Negro music. Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana will cooperate with Kentucky in her Emancipation Exposition.

¶William Monroe Trotter finished an extended speaking tour with a lecture to a crowded house at Union Baptist Church, Baltimore, Maryland.

¶The Washington County Colonial School of Maryland took first prize with their exhibit at the recent Richmond Exposition.

¶The Lincoln Jubilee Exposition brought to notice the fact that over one

thousand patents have been granted to colored inventors in this country.

¶Major R. R. Morton with other members of the Negro Organization Society recently made a tour of the counties of Northern Virginia, giving talks on health, farm economics and education.

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## EDUCATION

FOR the session ending June 1915, public school superintendents of 133 counties in 14 states have co-operated with the Jeanes Fund. The supervising teachers are paid partly by the counties and partly by the Jeanes Fund.

¶A free kindergarten is to be started in the First Congregational Church, Savannah, Ga.

¶A night school for colored adults will be opened in Atlanta, Ga., this fall.

¶John C. Leftwich has started buildings for an industrial school for Indians and Negroes, in Oklahoma.

¶Prof. J. E. K. Aggrey of Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., a native of Africa, did exceptional work at the summer session of Columbia University, New York City. In a thesis which treated of customs in Liberia, he told of the knowledge of eugenics which West Africans have and how well and how long they have used it.

¶R. T. Coles, principal of Garrison School, Kansas City, Mo., will also take charge of Garrison Industrial School, opened this fall in that city.

¶The summer normal school for colored teachers, held in New Orleans, La., last summer was most successful. It will be repeated next season.

¶Vocational training will be started in the Thomas Durham School in Philadelphia, in January, 1916. If successful it will be introduced into fourteen other colored schools in that city.

¶Because the schools in Savannah were crowded many children were unable to enter this fall.

¶Prof. W. W. Colson after a year's study of social science at Columbia University, New York, goes to Virginia Union University, in Richmond. He will devote part of his time to welfare work in the city.

¶W. Rutherford Banks, who has taught in Georgia and Alabama, is now President of Texas College, at Tyler, Texas.

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## ECONOMICS

THE Eagle Coal Company, composed of colored business men of Montgomery, Ala., has begun mining operations on their property in Fayette county.

¶The St. Paul Farmers' Conference organized and encouraged by St. Paul Normal and Industrial School had an interesting session at Lawrenceville, Va.

¶The colored people of both Alabama and Mississippi have held state fairs, at which their agricultural and mechanical progress was shown.

¶All workmen on the residence of Mr. D. S. S. Goodloe at Jericho Park, near Bowie, Maryland, were colored.

¶A new bank to be known as the Savannah Savings and Real Estate Corporation has been opened in Savannah, Ga.

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## PERSONAL

MR. ROBERT N. WOOD of New York City is dead. He was for many years closely identified with the Democratic party and its politics.

¶It is reported that Mr. B. T. Washington is very ill at Mobile, Ala. Dr. George Hall, of Chicago, and other physicians and nurses are in attendance.

¶The writer, John E. Bruce, is one of a citizens' committee, appointed to receive Governor Whitman of New York, at the Yonkers Day celebration, in Yonkers.

¶Dr. Paul Crosthewaite of Chicago, Ill., has won praise in London, England, for his skillful dental work.

¶Mr. Isaac Fisher of Birmingham, Ala., well known for his articles on farm economics, has written a moving picture play, which has been produced by the Southern Motion Picture Company.

¶Rev. J. B. F. Shaw, President of Meridian Institute in Mississippi, spoke in German before the German Methodist Conference in session at St. Joseph, Mo.

¶Edmund T. Jenkins of Charleston, S. C., a student at the Royal Academy of Music, London, England, has done a creditable year's work.

¶Private Stewart from Jamaica won a race in which five hundred soldiers com-

THE KING SEES STEWART START.

peted at Aldershot, England. The Queen of England presented the prize.

¶Major Wilson R. Ballard and wife have reached this country from Africa. Major Ballard has been an officer in the Librarian constabulary for nearly four years.

¶Thomas J. Bell, after thirteen years as secretary of the Y. M. C. A., New York City, has resigned on account of ill health. James L. Jamison, Jr., will succeed Mr. Bell.

¶Dr. William H. Creditt has resigned as pastor of Cherry Street Baptist Church in Philadelphia.

¶Former Senator Joseph B. Foraker is dangerously ill in Christ Hospital, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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## THE CHURCH

THE first bishop of Negro blood on the American continent was Right Rev. Francisco Jovier de Luna Victoria, the son of a freed slave. He became bishop of the See of Panama in August, 1751, remaining here till he was transferred to Peru, nine years later.

¶Miss Sarah E. Conway, a missionary at Cape Mount, Liberia, on a recent visit

THE QUEEN GREETS STEWART AS VICTOR.

to America, told of the large amount of medical work she found to do among the natives.

¶St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, Mass., was crowded at the opening session of the conference of Church Workers among Colored People. The other meetings were held in St. Bartholomew's Church in Cambridge, Mass.

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### FOREIGN

LAST July, Liberia celebrated the ninety-third anniversary of its founding. The event of the memorial day ceremonies was an address by Hon. Edwin J. Barclay, whose subject was Spiritual Ideals in the Life of a Nation.

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### THE GHETTO

SENATOR BORAH of Idaho will continue to oppose a Federal Constitutional Amendment granting Woman Suffrage, because such a law will raise the question of Negro disfranchisement.

¶Because Negroes are rapidly acquiring land in North Carolina, a movement is on foot to secure an amendment to the State Constitution which will limit their right to buy land.

¶Four colored men who were refused service in a restaurant in Huntington, Long Island, New York City, have brought suit against the owner.

¶The Central Civic Betterment League of Kansas City, Mo., is trying to have an ordinance passed which will prohibit Negro and white schools in the same neighborhood.

¶Colored men in Miami, Fla., may not drive automobiles unless they own them. This is one of several oppressive measures that have been passed lately in this city, which has a large northern element in it.

¶The Illinois conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church refused to offer resolutions to petition the General Conference for colored bishops to represent their people in the South.

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### CRIME

IT is reported that Love Rudd was hanged near Clarkeville, Mo., for threatening white people.

¶A man named Wilson, captured twice by a mob, was lynched near Dresden, Tenn., for a crime against a white woman.

CARNEY POST, NO. 46, VETERANS OF FOREIGN SERVICE OF PITTSBURGH, PA., FIRST PRIZE WINNERS AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AT DETROIT. THEY WERE THE ONLY COLORED POST ON PARADE. CAPTAIN F. R. STEWART WAS IN COMMAND

# MEN OF THE MONTH

### A BANDMASTER

WADE H. HAMMOND was born in Alabama and graduated at the A. and M. College in 1895. He was for some time both musician and tailor but finally became bandmaster in the A. and M. College and in Western University. In 1909 he entered the regular army and was sent at the expense of his regiment to the Royal Military School of Music in London. He also traveled in other countries. He returned to resume his position as bandmaster of the celebrated Ninth Cavalry.

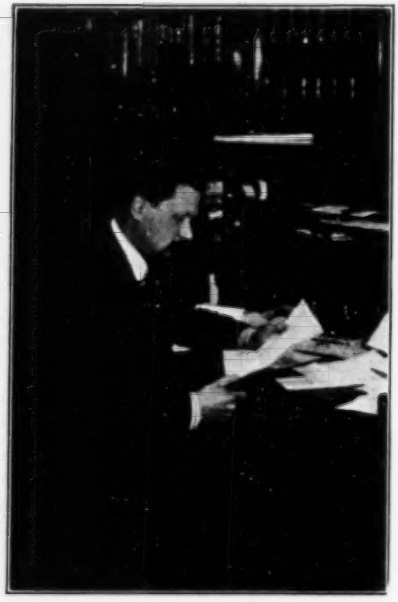
Last fall the mayor of the city of Douglas, Arizona, where the Ninth Cavalry is stationed, presented him in the name of the citizens, with a gold medal set with diamonds. The medal was inscribed "Presented to the chief musician Ninth Cavalry Band by the citizens of Douglas, Arizona, September 14th, 1914. Keep step to the music of the Union."

### A BUSINESS MAN

THE late Harris Barrett was born in Henderson, Kentucky, in 1865 and entered Hampton Institute at the age of seventeen years. The oldest organized effort to encourage loan and home-buying among local Negroes was the People's Building Loan Association of Hampton which Mr. Barrett founded soon after graduating in 1885. This company has loaned half a million dollars to colored people to assist in the buying of homes.

MR. W. H. HAMMOND

MR. HARRIS BARRETT



MR. C. F. HEARTMAN

Mr. Barrett served in the treasurer's office almost from the time of his entering Hampton and was cashier from 1907 until 1913. He was a quiet, accurate man, happily married and widely influential.

## A BIBLIOPHILE

ONE of our most noted women, and the first of her race in America to distinguish herself in letters, has been rescued from obscurity, and immortalized as it were in a kind of trilogy. We refer to the three distinctive publications on the gifted poetess of the Revolution, Phillis Wheatley—a Bibliography, a book of Broadsides, containing facsimiles of all the various editions of her fugutive poems, and her Letters and Poems combined. We who are somewhat backward in recognizing the literary merits of our geniuses, discovered and undiscovered, must now, if we have any gratitude in us, acknowledge our debt to Charles Frederick Heartman, late of Brunswick, Germany, a thorough and painstaking bibliophile and now a resident of New York.

Mr. Heartman's early training in German journalism gave him the opportunity to devote himself to the writing of short stories.

His studies of unfortunate human types may have been the reason that prompted him to republish Phillis Wheatley's poems, and everything extant and obtainable in print or manuscript concerning this truly remarkable woman of the Negro race. Phillis has so long been permitted to remain in obscurity, because of her complexion in spite of the fact that she was the first woman in America to attain to any distinction as a writer of poetry.

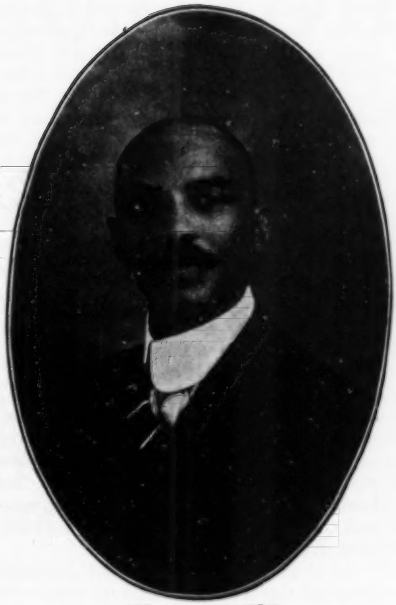
Mr. Heartman came to the United States with a keen knowledge of rare and historical books. The Heartman Historical Series, which he issues periodically and in which are included the Phillis Wheatley Series, number to date ten issues and cover the field known as *Americana*. Every publication in which he is interested is privately printed. His books are for the few who appreciate the rare, the beautiful, and the useful.

He has brought to the notice of the great libraries of the country and to the bibliophiles a mass of information respecting this brilliant Negro girl. His is the work of an honest, fair minded, unprejudiced investigator. Not once has he spoken of pecuniary reward, but always of his desire to hand down to posterity this tribute to the mental and moral worth of Phillis Wheatley, to bring before the great libraries and collectors in all its completeness in so far as was humanly possible the work of this young African girl who in her day was quoted as freely and as generously as are some of our modern poets.

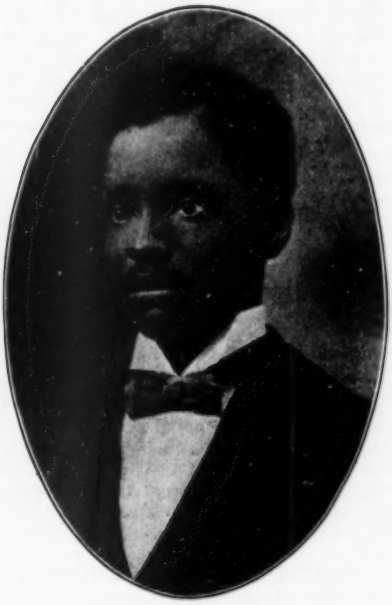
This publication has brought to light another remarkable Negro poet of whom few have heard in the person of Jupiter Hammon. No imprint of his poems was known to exist. We are indebted to Mr. Heartman for a reproduction of Hammon's splendid poem to Miss Wheatley.

Mr. Heartman is a man with a big heart, a noble mind, and of generous impulses; we admire him for his democratic spirit.

ARTHUR A. SCHOMBURG.



MR. W. C. HANDY



MR. WILLIAM DYKE.

## HAVE YOU EVER HEARD THE "BLUES"?

THE distinction of having contributed to the world an entirely new style of music composition can be claimed by W. C. Handy of Memphis, Tennessee.

Mr. Handy wrote the now world-famous "Memphis Blues" which is the first American composition to attain popularity written in the "Blues Style." The difference between this and the old established rule of composition is stated by one authority to be that the "Blues Style" has fourteen measures to the strain, which represents the correct construction of genuine African music, whereas, the regular style has sixteen measures to the strain. Musicians who at first laughed Mr. Handy's compositions to scorn and ridiculed them as being musically impossible have joined the large number of writers who are now imitating his style.

Mr. Handy's work is all the more remarkable for the reason that he never had a music lesson in his life. By purely personal work and a determination to master music, he is able now to play nearly every musical instrument, and is a cornet soloist of rare ability. He reads at sight the most difficult music and writes all of the orchestrations used by his band of forty-five men, besides doing arranging and making orchestrations for many musical organizations and music houses who have no regularly employed arranger.

Mr. Handy was born in Florence, Alabama, nearly forty years ago and taught music at Normal, Alabama, for several years. Later he travelled with Mahara's Minstrels in order to master brass band and orchestral work. About ten years ago, he went to Memphis, and organized a "Knights of Pythias" band. He received scant encouragement from the older musicians who had a practical monopoly in furnishing music to the city. Today, he furnishes nearly all the music to the city both public and private, and employs the year round nearly fifty musicians. His bands are in demand for every occasion. Profiting by the mistake he made in selling the "Memphis Blues" to a white publisher, he later formed a partnership with Harry

H. Pace, establishing the Pace & Handy Music Company, which boasts of being the only colored music publishing house in existence today, and which has published all of the later compositions of Mr. Handy and compositions of several other colored composers.

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### A HERO

WILLIAM DYKE, principal of Goode Public School, Bedford County, Virginia, has been awarded a silver medal and $1,000 by the Carnegie Hero Fund.

When the home of Peter Bryant, a white man, was burned two years ago his little four-year-old child was caught in the burning house. The roof was about to fall in but Dyke rushed in and brought the child out alive. The building collapsed just a few seconds after he emerged. The money was added to the medal in order to pay off a mortgage on Mr. Dyke's house.

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### A NEW COLLEGE PRESIDENT

THIS month Fisk University inaugurates its fourth President in the person of Fayette Avery McKenzie.

Dr. McKenzie is a Puritan and was born among the Underground Railway group in Pennsylvania. He was educated at Lehigh University, at the University of Pennsylvania and at the Ohio State University. His doctor's thesis was on the Indian problems and as a teacher he has interested himself in racial problems of various sorts. It is fortunate that Dr. McKenzie comes to his work as a young man with a prospect of many years of useful endeavor.

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### AN HONORED PHYSICIAN

DR. ULYSSES GRANT DAILEY was born in Louisiana, August 3rd, 1885. He was educated at Straight University and Northwestern University of Illinois. He received his medical degree at the medical school of the latter institution in 1906 and afterward served as assistant in anatomy at the same place, as ambulance surgeon for the health department of the city of Chicago and as associate surgeon of the Provident Hospital.

At the last meeting of the National Medical Association, which is composed of colored physicians, dentists, etc., Dr. Dailey was elected president.

DR. F. A. MC KENZIE

DR. U. G. DAILEY

# Opinions

## THE ROTTEN BOROUGH

THE SUPPRESSED NEGRO VOTE

Savoyard, a staff correspondent of several southern papers, is complacent as to the result of the Supreme Court decision on the Fifteenth Amendment:

"It is folly to suppose that the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the Fifteenth Amendment will have the slightest effect on the political situation in any State of the Union. In the boundless economy of time, history may record the name of a Negro Senator in Congress from Massachusetts, but there will be a Negro Senator from Massachusetts as soon as there is another Negro Senator from Mississippi."

He then delivers himself of the genial philosophy of the Negro race:

"It is the most docile of the races—the Negro. It enjoys the day. As a peasant class it is altogether admirable, and if the day of wrath comes, and capital and labor shall fly at each other's throats at the North, the man of property at the South may sleep in peace, for the Negro loves the southern white man and will be true to him to the end."

We don't want to disturb anybody's nap but we venture to suggest that the before-mentioned southern white man would better do some of his sleeping with at least one eye open. We admit that some fire-eaters like the editor of the Houston (Tex.) *Chronicle* use stentorian tones which sound like convictions:

"Fanatics may howl, politicians rant, demagogues declaim, conventions enact platforms, Congress pass laws and courts enter decrees, but the fact remains that the blue-veined and white-skinned man is going to run and rule this end of this nation. He always has, he always will. He has never divided his dominion with any man, and he never will and the sooner the *Independent* comes to know that fact, the better for it."

Nevertheless there is evidence that the North is continuing to think. A writer commending an editorial in the Buffalo (N. Y.) *Express* says:

"You should elaborate on this latter point and also call attention to the fact that having found it so easy to eliminate the Negro vote, the southern politicians have turned their attention to the white voter, with the result that anywhere from 40 to 50 per cent, or more, of that vote is likewise disfranchised in the states of the 'southern South.' Mississippi, for example, which has eight congressmen, casts just about the same number of votes as are cast in the congressional district in Chicago in which I am writing these lines. The education test does not apply to white voters in those states, so have been eliminated by making the payment of certain taxes a prerequisite for voting. You could not do a better work than in pointing out the workings of these laws which have made of these southern states simply miserable oligarchies."

If the proverbial proud southerner has really got it planted in his chest that this public is going to tolerate these "miserable oligarchies" another twenty-five years then he has more faith in human ignorance than we have.

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## IN FAR FIJI

THE NEW LEADER APOLOSI

R. S. W., writing in the New York Evening *Post*, gives a vivid account of the rise of race consciousness in another dark people half way around the world. We quote some parts:

"Coincident with discussion in the Australian press of a report that after the war the Fiji group is to become a direct dependency of the Commonwealth has occurred references to Apolosi a remarkable native of the islands. As the white community in Fiji does not know a great deal concerning him, Australia knows still less. The authorities at Suva

are becoming somewhat uneasy over him, for he is an orator of no mean order, and has a strong hold upon the native mind. Apolosi is the articulate voice of the Fijian people—a people with whom 'Fiji for the Fijians' is becoming a motive.

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"Apolosi is a product of a missionary school, and is a carpenter by trade. He is a plebian, which makes the fact of his rise and his power the more remarkable, for in Fiji caste feeling and tribal prejudices and susceptibilities militate against the democracy from which he sprang and to which he seems impartially to appeal, and he has no hesitation in proclaiming himself as such. In appearance he is not prepossessing. He is somewhat shorter in stature than the average Fijian; his forehead is a little lower, the bridge of his nose is deeper set, and instead of possessing the melodious tones which mark the speech of practically all Pacific islanders, his tongue is rather harsh.

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"About a twelvemonth covers Apolosi's public career thus far. This career began with rumors that he was stirring up the natives and was a menace to the peace of the colony. About the same time the white population first heard of the Viti Company—Fiji being the English corruption of Viti—a concern which was to be composed entirely of Fijians. Apolosi was reputed to be the originator of this project, and to be the collector of funds for it. That the ultimate end of this movement was 'Fiji for the Fijians' there seems to be little doubt, and probably some of the speeches made by supporters of it were of the vehement sort generally associated with nationalist agitation. Back of the efforts toward the incorporation of the Viti Company seem to have been the native resentment against the Indian coolies, by whom Fiji is being flooded, and jealousy of their economic status.

"Largely as the result of Apolosi's labors the Viti Company was launched. The directorate, it was decided, should be white, with two exceptions, and those naturally should be natives. Apolosi is credited with having a good business head, but the general opinion among those who were charged with the concern's composition was that the Fijians as a people had not reached a point which would make it safe to have Fijians preponderate on the board. But when all was in running order it was discovered that Apolosi had been tricked; that all the directors were Europeans, and these whites would not even accept the money proffered by him for stock in the company of which he was chiefly the author.

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(Apolosi thereupon addressed his people in part as follows):

"'A certain thing you people of Fiji have heard of,' he said: 'you, and the white business people have heard of, too. That is the Viti Company. In the early days our chiefs were foolish, but the white people who have come have taught us many things. The Government has done well, but there is no move on the part of the people themselves. We remain just as we started. I saw this thing, and I spent many weary nights thinking what was to become of our race. Ah! How many sleepless nights have I spent dreaming what to do.

"'Sitting in this fine hall,' he continued, 'we do not think of the amount of skill and brains used in erecting it. Surely, there is no reason why we should not try to achieve greater things. I am trying to lift you from the slough of despond into which you have fallen. I would teach you to be better citizens.'

"Presently he made a forcible use of the interrogative: 'Why am I not allowed in the company? Why was the man who did all the work brushed aside? I got 8,000 people into the company and now I am told to stand out. Why? Can anybody in the audience say I have stolen your money? Have I caused any disturbance in these islands? Have I tried to upset the good government of the country?'"

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## BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

A SUGGESTION FROM HENRY S. ROSENTHAL

In an address before the United States League of Building and Loan Associations, Henry S. Rosenthal, of Cincinnati, made a most important, and what may prove to be an epoch-making speech. He said among other things:

"In an address which I made a short time ago before the Kentucky League of Building and Loan Associations, I called attention to the problem concerning the future of the Negro, in the solution of which I believe the building and loan idea could do more than any other institution.

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"Let us consider for a minute the remarkable strides in progress made by the American Negroes, who form ten per cent of our population. The director of the Federal census, William J. Harris, recently issued a document showing the details of the development of the race. Among the facts enumerated are the phenomenal rate of increase of their attendance at schools and churches, and a marked decrease in the death rate. It is very gratifying to note that the home-making instinct has increased among them, and that they are already becoming interested in building and loan associations. As it is there are a number of such organizations that are now successfully conducted by Negroes. In the year 1900, 20 per cent of the Negro population lived in homes they owned. In 1910 this ratio had increased to 22.4 per cent In Virginia a creditable showing is made, with 41.3 per cent of self-ownership of Negro homes.

"It has been shown that in the cities the infamous housing conditions of this race have brought about a far greater death rate than the general average.

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"Undoubtedly here is a vast field for building and loan associations. Its successful cultivation would mean not only much-needed assistance to our colored neighbors, but also the elimination of many plague spots from our cities and the elevation of our citizenship.

"I realize that the proposed task of widening the horizon of our movement is a complicated one, rendered all the more so by the fact that the pecuniary incentive is lacking. In any other field the promoter, actuated by selfish motives, would cover every inch of the ground. As a matter of fact, the professional promoter is not a stranger to the building and loan movement, as we realize when we recall the so-called 'Nationals' of a decade ago and others of more recent date. We know that the activity of the promoter has always been harmful, if not disastrous, to the movement. The fact is that the fundamental idea of these institutions is incompatible with exploitation, for their strength lies in absolute mutuality, and on that alone is their success predicated. We must create an atmosphere along those lines among the Negro population in the cities if we hope to be an important factor in their betterment and general uplift and expect them to aid the growth of our movement by becoming shareholders and depositors."

Mr. Rosenthal, who is editor of the *American Building and Loan News,* of course does not realize what persistent efforts have been made to keep the benefits of building and loan associations from colored people. Where, as in Philadelphia, the colored people have once thoroughly mastered the idea themselves their work compares with any in the world.

## THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY

THE GOSPEL OF HATE

No considerations of religion, education, friendship or common decency keep the average North American white man from setting up hateful American color prejudice wherever he goes. L. C. Warner, writing from Porto Rico to the *American Missionary,* says:

"When the Americans came to the island sixteen years ago, there was but very little color line, but now it is well estabished. It has probably been hastened by the presence of many officials from our southern states. Even the Y. M. C. A. has been compelled to recognize it, and the fine new building is only for white young men. I am not sure just how the native Porto Rican does count, but I presume if he is well dressed and educated, he would count for white. However, in San Juan, the Negro is much more in evidence than the Porto Rican.

"The history of Porto Rico leads me to consider what would happen in Trinidad if the Americans were to take charge of that island and give to it the benefit of our boasted civilization. Instead of the four strong churches in Port of Spain, now attended by whites and blacks, and all worshipping together

amicably, we would have one or two weak white churches with a membership of 50 or 75 each, and the colored people would all worship in churches of their own with colored preachers."

..*Now and Then,* published in Honolulu, writes editorially:

"Honolulu ought to be free from race prejudice, but it isn't. So many people of so many different races are mingling here in active life that even a blind man would soon realize that every race produces noble men and women. I have never thought that I was superior to others because I happened to be born white. I can readily believe from knowledge and experience that there are many people of darker skins who are better than I. In this world and probably in the next it is neither race nor color that will count. Character is the only thing of enduring value. Make your character something that you can be proud of, and never mind your color. God made that and his stamp ought to guarantee it. If it suits him, no one else has any right to complain.

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"The person who is not willing to grant the common rights of humanity to all, no matter what their race or color, is not a man himself, but a contemptible thing unworthy to walk on this earth and a long way from the road to Heaven. If you have any race prejudice, be a man and rid yourself of it. You can't be a man and think yourself better than others on account of race or color, and usually the persons who make the most pretentions to superiority on this account have little else of which they can boast."

Notwithstanding this the *Churchman,* of New York City, continues optimistic.

"Despite lynching in the South, which is an expression of community lawlessness rather than Negro antagonism, there is reason to believe that prejudice against the Negro is dying out. When the Negro Exposition was held at Richmond, Virginia, a short time ago, the newspapers of that city warmly supported the undertaking, urging white people to attend, and there were thousands of white visitors. At the exposition in Chicago, where the work of 2,000,000 Negro school children was on exhibition, the opening day was declared a holiday by the city council and all municipal and county offices were closed. In connection with the meeting of the National Negro Business League, at Boston, the *New York Post* publishes some figures relative to the commercial progress of the Negro during the last fifteen years."

We regret, however, that the *Churchman* is not optimistic enough to spell Negro with a large "N." We have accordingly edited the above copy.

"Grapho," writing in the *Congregationalist,* exhibits an optimism less complacent, but to our mind much more effective. He insists "that the real white man under the burden of the world is not necessarily the man with the white skin, but the man with the white heart. There is a white man who blusters and boasts of his superiority, and is an offense wherever he goes. There is a white man who beats down the weak and excuses his conquest and crimes on the ground that his is 'the paramount nation.' 'No doubt you have found,' said President Wilson in his speech to the naturalized citizens of Philadelphia, 'that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and right purpose, as it does everywhere else in the world.' That is the white nation, 'the nation,' as he added, 'so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.' The other kind of white man is likely to make more burdens than he bears. His selfishness sends him forth looking for a people upon whom he can levy tribute, a people whom he can compel to bear his burdens. His superiority is a means of conquest, not of uplift."

## COMPLAINT AND ANSWER

LOGIC OF TWO WHITE SOUTHERNERS

Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer* of North Carolina, who has been for years advocating "Jim-Crow" farms in the South, is growing dithyrambic in his appeal:

"Let me repeat, therefore, that while as God knows my heart I believe in being just to the Negro, I also believe—and here is the thought that I fear has never occurred to thousands of earnest, sincere, well meaning students of the problem—I also believe in being just to the laboring white man whose ancestors

through centuries of toil and aspiration and discipline have wrought out the civilization which we enjoy—the civilization to which the Negro, moreover, owes the very peace, safety and prosperity he enjoys.

"And I tell you tonight, my friends, with all the earnestness of my soul, that present conditions in the South are not just to the laboring white man—that the working white farmer hasn't an equal chance with the Negro in the struggle for future control of the rural South. I tell you that while I know that here and there individual Negroes are treated with injustice—hideous injustice that reacts to our own hurt—yet considered as a race the really disadvantaged and handicapped man in the South today is not the Negro."

To this the editor of the Elizabeth City (N. C.) *Independent* makes answer which needs no elaboration:

"It seems to me that a better way to increase the number of white land owners in the South, would be to make it possible for more white persons to own land in the South. It seems to me that this would be a better way than Dr. Poe's segregation scheme. If Dr. Poe gets a law passed in every state prohibiting the sale of land in white neighborhoods to Negroes, he will not have increased the number of white land owners, but he will have strengthened and fortified those land monopolists who are swiftly taking possession of the South.

"Anything that tends to discourage the Negro land owner tends to throw that much more Negro wage labor into the open market. White tenants and white laborers are thereby forced into keener competition with the Negro. The big landowner deals with his white tenants and white laborers on a basis determined by the availability and cheapness of Negro labor. The more Negro day labor available, the harder the terms for the white tenant and laborer.

"What the South needs is more small landowners regardless of nationality or color. There are millions of idle acres awaiting development, that will continue to wait so long as wealthy landowners wait upon cheap labor. There are millions of foreigners who would be only too glad to come in and work these lands if they could buy small farms on easy terms and not be treated as Negroes are treated. Instead of framing laws to keep any class from owning land, we should make it possible for greater numbers to own land."

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## THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO

THE LATEST ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATION

The New York Evening *Post* says:

"There is but one means of determining the degree in which the Negro is advancing in morals and manners. The census, tax-lists, and schools record progress in economic and educational directions. Nothing but the observation of skilled inquirers can register conditions as to home life. Professor Hart, in 'The Southern South,' remarks the rarity of such investigation. 'How many white people in the city of Atlanta, for instance, have actually been inside the home of a prosperous, educated Negro? How many have actually sat over the fire of a one-room cabin? The southern whites, with few exceptions, teach no Negroes, attend no Negro church services, penetrate into no Negro society.' Only in recent years has there been a marked increase in the number of social studies of the Negro. Vanderbilt University has published several monographs; Dr. DuBois has directed researches in city and country; Dr. Odum, of the University of Mississippi, has compiled one of great value; while the new Phelps-Stokes Fund at the University of Georgia supports a Fellow who is to give his time to study of the Negro. But the chief work has been that of Atlanta University, which eighteen years ago issued its first volume on black life; and has undertaken a series of decennial studies, initiated in 1903 with a comprehensive survey of 'Morals and Manners among American Negroes.' The second with a resumé of the decade's progress, has just been published.

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"Such a survey as this is evidence of the concreteness of the goals towards which social leaders may work in the South. The Negroes have the task of transforming their churches into a vital energetic agency; the whites have the

chief responsibility for the school. The vast variety of community conditions revealed points to the potential responsiveness of the Negro. Again and again the reader finds it stated that 'conditions would amaze any old resident who had been absent for four years,' that 'the improvement is so great that no comparison can be made.'"

## AESOP

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING BLACK

The revival of the question of the descent of the author of Aesop's celebrated fables in Henry Holt & Company's recent publication, "The Negro," has brought some interesting newspaper comment. One writer in the New York *Sun* says that Aesop was "of dark complexion with pendant lips." Another replies that his color was "not black" and his features "not ugly" because he had "a radiant mind!" Shades of Darwin! A West African thereupon replies:

"His physical characteristics, which have been minutely described by men who had seen him, are not physical characteristics of a man of any European race. 'Flat nose, pendant lips, crisp hair, large abdomen, a long head and dusky complexion' does not accurately describe a white man. That description is very nearly, if not quite, that given by lexicographers of the Negro.

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"I should say that the early historians who wrote about Aesop were better informed as to what race he belonged to than these modern writers, some of whom read history with their prejudices, and are unwilling to give credit where credit is due. Educated Africans have no doubt as to the race to which Aesop belonged. It is African pure and simple. If Aesop were in the flesh today he could easily pass for a Negro in the United States of America. And your correspondent, I fancy, would hesitate to entertain him socially."

Mr. Arthur A. Schomburg writes further:

"It is not 'necessary to turn to legend and romance.' A perusal of 'Torence's Comedies' made English by his life with Laurence Echard, 9th edition, London, 1841, says 'as for his person he was of a middle stature, very slender and somewhat of a *tawny complexion.*' With Aesop having a *dark complexion* and Torence *tawny* it cannot be properly claimed today that these men born in Africa were white men, and the proof that they were must be more clearly established than that contained in the present editions of emasculated books whose writers have painted every man of distinction suspected of having African blood with a good dose of kalsomine.

"If Prester John was white what will you do with the picture of Negroes shown in Ludolph's 'History of Aethiopia' printed in 1691. The reigning king and Abbas Gregorious who gave Ludolph all material information as shown are unquestionably Negroid.

"Jose Maria Heredia, the king of sonnets crowned by the French Academy, was a white man but Severiano de Heredia, who held high post under the French government, was of Negroid descent and this is amply verified not only by LaRousse, encyclopædia but by his family, some of whom still survive him.

"Take, for instance, the case of Alexander Hamilton the unexplained mystery of the American nation, a man who appears to have been born without a mother, yet Gertrude Atherton, in her 'Conquerer,' and in her article in the *North American Review* for August, 1902, upsets all precedents in romancing with the creation of a family connection and establishing beyond peradventure a fictitious mother for this great man whose real mother, as the saying goes to this day in Nevis, where he was born, was a beautiful octoroon woman who, like many of her kind, remained true to Hamilton and lived as in the cloisters of a convent, so far as the outside world was concerned—alone."

## MISCELLANEOUS

"A CORRESPONDENT asked me the other day if I had any doubt that the slow rate at which he succeeded in his particular work was because he was a colored man. My answer is that I have very considerable doubt. I have known first class white men who for many dreary years have had to work here with little or no recognition and

who won it ultimately only by the slow dogged perseverance and ability that the case demanded. I have known colored men in the same box. On the other hand I have known and know colored men who are as successful in their spheres almost at once as men could be and that right here. The fact is that some men allow themselves to be obsessed with the idea that because they are colored there is bound to be prejudice against them and then they, of course, see a duppy at every dildo bush. It is all the worse when they have been to the States. They come back imbued with the idea more than ever and if they did not find slights they would look for them. They vent the spleen gathered in the land of the free on the heads of all and sundry here. The sensible and really able colored man who has a good disposition, as well as gifts, goes right along pegging away just like the white man and by and by people have forgotten whether he is white, black, brown or variegated. He makes good and 'delivers the goods,' and that is all people here want. It is generally the inferior kind of man from whom one hears the perpetual bleat about his skin being a bar, etc. I am not implying, however, that my correspondent is of that class. I think that he has not done enough well-baked thinking and is a bit hyper-sensitive."—Jamaica (B. W. I.) *Times.*

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"I ASSERT, and challenge successful refutation, that nowhere on God's earth today is the lot of the black man more irksome and less enviable than in the land of his ancestors and his natural home, Africa, and in South Africa the aggravation of his miseries synchronized with the perfection of union. That union, which was heralded amid a blare of joyful trumpetings and which to the white man meant the accession of strength and blessings which came in the wake of the amalgamation of forces, became to the black man a curse by the white man's determination that for the blacks there shall be a policy not of leveling up, but one of leveling down—i. e., the adoption of the most vicious and repressive measures which obtained in the worst of the erstwhile states, rather than the more liberal ones of the more enlightened ones.

"I am not unaware of the existence in America of a large number of well-meaning people among yours and my races who propose as a panacea for the ills of the Afro-American an African exodus because, foresooth, being the land of his people, a cordial welcome here awaits him and here he would, metaphorically, 'sit under his own vine and figtree.' Theoretically, this is beautiful, and the picture presents a most enchanting view from the distant perspective. It is most alluring and tempting. Nearer approach, however, will speedily dispel the illusion. The unprejudiced observer will readily admit that the treatment of the South African black man is daily becoming worse and the bogie of 'black peril' is set up only as an excuse for his repression.

"For an imaginary or no offense the American mob will rush at one poor helpless black man—aye, and woman, too, as has been oft done, and hurl him or her into eternity without any form of trial. *Mais, ici nous avons change tout cela.* One solitary white man, as in the case of Lewis of Buluwayo, or one frail white woman, armed with a revolver, is quite sufficient for and is the sole executor at our lynching bee here. And a kindly disposed judge and a sympathetic and kindred jury is always at hand to acquit or to inflict a small fine in a case of unusual ferocity."—F. Z. S. Peregrino, of South Africa, in a letter to Congressman Madden, published in the Buffalo (N. Y.) *Express.*

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"THERE are other cases where we can compare the Negro and the Englishman more exactly than in the case just mentioned. Take South Africa, for example.

"Europeans have been there only for two or three generations in any large numbers. They have gone from the highly stimulating climate of Western Europe to the moderately stimulating climate of South Africa. They find themselves face to face with the Zulus, and especially the Basutos, who within a few generations have come from the unstimulating regions nearer to the

equator. Today we find a critical situation. The Europeans are not holding their own. The blacks are slowly pushing them out. The Europeans are not in danger in Cape Colony, but farther north it is an open question what will become of them. The blacks not only work more cheaply than is possible for the whites, but also more industriously. The result is that today about ten per cent of the white European population is reckoned as 'poor whites'—a shiftless set of people, living from hand to mouth, untrustworthy, and a danger to the whole community. . . .

"A more striking case than that of South Africa is found in the Bahamas. . . . From the beginning the Bahamas have always suffered from 'hard luck.' Part of the luck is due to isolation and part to natural disasters, but lack of energy on the part of the people appears to be a still more important factor. I have talked about it with scores of persons, both islanders of the more intelligent sort and Europeans who have lived there for a term of years. Almost without exception they say, 'This climate is very beautiful and healthful, and we like it, but somehow we can't work as you people do in the States. Even in Florida it is better than it is here. Don't you believe it? Try living here a year or two, and you'll be as lazy as we are.'" —Professor Ellsworth Huntington in *Popular Science Monthly*.

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"THE announcement that a Negro has enlisted in the Welsh Guards recalls the days when many of our regiments had black bandsmen. These were first attached to the army in 1783, owing to one of the Guard's bands having refused in a body to play at an entertainment organized by the officers. As none of the men was attested they could not be punished for insubordination, so the officers petitioned the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, that bandsmen should in future be made subject to military law. The Duke would not agree to this, but he brought over from Hanover for the Guards a complete German military band, which included Negro players for the bass drum, cymbals, and triangles. Nearly every regiment in the service hastened to reorganize its band, engaging colored performers for all percussion instruments. Down to 1841 the band of the Scots Guards included a Negro musician."—London *Chronicle*.

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"PLANS are being laid for the introduction of legislation at the next session of Congress which will provide for the limiting of the right of franchise. The real object of the bill is the simplification of the handling of the Negro question throughout the country. It is hoped to make this the opening wedge for disfranchisement of most Negroes, the uneducated element of foreign extraction and illiterates in general.

"There are several agencies in Washington working on the Negro problem. The more radical faction hopes to perfect a plan whereby all Negroes in America may be returned to Africa. Others are convinced that such a plan is entirely impracticable and refuse to give their support to the movement having this objective."—Paul Wooten in New Orleans *Times-Picayune*.

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"THE first day's inquiry by the Federal Industrial Commission disclosed interesting details about the wages of Pullman porters and the regulations of the company touching their relation to the public. It must seem rather like piling it on to insist that employes paid only $27.50 a month must look pleasant, but since 'we can get all the men we want' at that rate perhaps the wearer of the uniform should perhaps consider himself lucky. The warning against treating the passengers with haughty condecension, however, shows an intimate acquaintance with the service. Not less interesting is the revelation that porters are forbidden to quote the company's rules for refusing certain forbidden services, but are instructed to explain more euphoniously that such matters are out of their 'jurisdiction.'

"The manager refused to say that the wages were estimated with the expectation that the traveling public would make up the deficiency but admitted that in practice a few more dollars were paid to less experienced porters on cars where there were less perquisites."—Pittsburgh *Despatch*.

## WE COME OF AGE

FIVE years ago this month the first number of THE CRISIS was issued. It was a very modest little edition consisting of one thousand copies with twenty pages each. The total cost was fifty dollars. This issue of THE CRISIS consists of 35,000 copies of fifty-two pages each and will cost about two thousand dollars. Between these two boundaries lies, as one may well believe, a history of struggle, of hope and fear, of apprehension and triumph. From the beginning THE CRISIS has borne all of its expenses of publication and paid all salaries except that of the editor. Last year, when the stringency due to the war put the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in serious difficulties, THE CRISIS assumed half the salary of the editor who had hitherto been paid wholly by the Association. Today, on our Fifth Birthday, we are able to announce with some pride and with genuine satisfaction that at the beginning of our fiscal year, January 1, 1916, THE CRISIS will become a self-supporting business institution, paying not only all expenses of publication but the full salary of the editor. This is no small accomplishment for the comparatively short period of time and we have to thank first of all not ourselves, but our readers in every state in this Union and in the lands oversea.

## THE CRISIS AND THE N. A. A. C. P

MUCH misapprehension has existed in the public mind as to the relation between THE CRISIS and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This ought not to exist for that relation is and always has been quite clear. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the legal owner of THE CRISIS and THE CRISIS is its official organ. The circumstances, however, surrounding the founding of this magazine make certain explanations periodically necessary. Most people assume that a rich and powerful association furnished the funds to publish a magazine and that consequently THE CRISIS is a sort of subsidized organ which is independent of the ordinary commercial chances of a periodical. This is far from the truth. The National Association is not rich and has never expended a single cent for the publication of THE CRISIS. This is through no fault of its own. It would have been glad to do so but it has had no funds for this purpose. It did, however, from the very beginning recognize that *publicity* was necessary for its propaganda; publicity in the first place among colored people in order that its work and ideals might not be persistently misunderstood and misrepresented as was the case with the Niagara Movement; publicity also among the general citizenship of the

United States, in order that the cause for which it was fighting might be known.

For this purpose it appointed as one of its executive officers a Director of Publicity and Research. When the Director entered his office September 1, 1910, he was faced by a baffling difficulty. He was receiving a salary but had practically no funds to expend for publicity work because the Association had no funds. He sought publicity for a cause which was markedly unpopular with the white periodical press. He faced a colored press which did not know or understand the objects and ideals of this Association and which could not afford to give it much publicity. What should be done? The Director of Publicity determined that it must have an organ. The executive board of the Association assented to this proposition provided such periodical did not entail any expenditure of money on the part of the Association. This stipulation has been carefully kept.

### THE COST OF THE CRISIS

WHEN the Director of Publicity issued THE CRISIS as a small part of his publicity work and as a method of publicity it was fair to charge his salary to the Association and to require THE CRISIS simply to pay expenses of publication. But as THE CRISIS became a larger and larger institution until it occupied the whole time of the Director of Publicity and left practically none of his time for the Association, except by way of advice, lectures and general committee work, it was fair that the step should be taken which will be taken January 1st and the whole salary of the director charged to THE CRISIS fund.

Meantime there comes the interesting question as to just what the establishment of THE CRISIS has cost. We may look at this from two points: We may ask what THE CRISIS has cost if we charge against it everything which it might fairly be asked to pay if it were considered simply as an independent business institution. Or, on the other hand, we may ask what it has cost if we charge against it only such expenditure as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would not have made if THE CRISIS had not existed. For instance: THE CRISIS was for the first five months published in the offices of the National Association and paid no rent. As a business institution some portion of the rent should be charged against it during this period; but as a matter of fact the Association occupied no more room during this time on account of THE CRISIS than it would have occupied otherwise. Carrying out the calculation in this way we may say that as a business proposition THE CRISIS has cost $12,000 but that on the other hand it has cost the National Association an actual expenditure of only $9,000 for its establishment outside of what it would have expended if THE CRISIS had not been founded. These figures have been reached by charging to THE CRISIS such portion of the editor's salary as THE CRISIS has successively taken of his time. During the last two years the whole of his salary is charged against THE CRISIS as it has taken practically all of his time.

To this material and money cost must be added the intangible but vastly more important spiritual cost. We must not forget first of all the splendid and unlimited sacrifice of the late Mary Dunlop McLean without whose initial aid THE CRISIS would hardly have been possible; the disinterested friendship and advice of the late Robert N. Wood who

did so much for the mechanical side of the magazine during the first three years of its life and whose interest in it never flagged. To these must be added the names of volunteer workers like Mary White Ovington, Maud Cuney Hare, Martha Gruening and others.

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### THE RESULT

FOR this expenditure of love and effort and money we have today a well established vehicle of news and thought to carry on the propaganda for equal rights in the United States and, to a degree, to inform, guide and entertain thousands of readers. We occupy today twelve hundred square feet of space on the fifth floor of one of the most convenient office buildings in New York City. We employ eight salaried workers not counting our force of seven hundred agents.

It costs approximately ten dollars an hour for each working hour of the year to run THE CRISIS; or, in other words, about $23,000.00 a year.

We have above all accumulated working capital under circumstances which the ordinary onlooker would not appreciate. The furniture, machines and appliances in our office today are carried on our books as worth $2,000, and as a matter of fact could not be duplicated for $3,000. In most businesses of this size this would represent invested capital; but THE CRISIS had no capital invested and it must from the beginning get its working materials and machines out of its income beside paying expenses. Since many of these appliances are absolutely necessary to accurate modern business methods this lack of capital has sorely oppressed us at times and it has put upon the editor and manager an amount of financial responsibility which has often been a serious burden.

From the beginning the editor of THE CRISIS has made himself personally responsible for every single debt which has been incurred. He has used his own salary and borrowed money to tide it over difficulties and given his personal notes to meet emergencies. In not a single case has the Association or anybody connected with the Association, except the editor, assumed the slightest responsibility or risk or advanced a single cent. There is both precedent and moral right that legal ownership in whole or in part should rightly follow such financial risk. But not only has the editor refused to press this point in the slightest degree but he has even in one case yielded to an invasion of his rights which he did not and does not consider fair.

He and the other officers of the Association have kept steadily in mind that beyond and above all questions of power, responsibility and money must be kept clear and high the great ideal of establishing in the United States a dignified and authoritative organ of public opinion which should stand for the fundamental principles of American democracy. This ideal has not been reached. It has scarcely been approximated but a foundation has been laid, solid and broad, and of the utmost promise.

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### THE FUTURE

THE reaching of the stage of self-support by an institution like THE CRISIS does not mean that the day of difficulty or even danger is passed. The present industrial and financial conditions in this country make it extremely difficult to foresee the business future and to predict how long our income can be made to meet our expenditures without serious curtailment. We have, how-

ever, every encouragement beyond these general disturbed conditions. The portion of the colored people of the United States who are readers of THE CRISIS is but a small proportion of those who would read it if it were brought to their attention. Persistent pushing, then, of its circulation is going to bring great results. Our great goal of FIFTY THOUSAND subscribers and purchasers is one that we hope to see realized by April 1st, 1916. This is where you come in, Gentle Reader! If you will make yourself this minute a Committee of One to secure ONE new reader for THE CRISIS we will have a circulation which will immediately bring us into the class of large magazines. We can then begin to secure a share of the national advertising; or to put it another way: The great businesses of the United States who are today appealing to every part of the nation can be made to appeal to ten million colored people, to adapt their goods and selling methods to them, and to treat them with the respect that the purchasing public has a right to ask.

Beyond and above this matter of self-support comes the question of the magazine itself as a vehicle of thought and an inspirer of ideals and the organ of a great propaganda. It goes without saying that the magazine is far below the ideal and plan of its founder. Its condensation and classification of news and its digest of opinion have been fairly well developed although capable of intensive improvement. Its space, however, for the two great departments of serious essays and literature has been hitherto straitly, almost dishearteningly, curtailed. The magazine needs at least sixteen more pages and it could use a great many in addition. Some decided enlargement will undoubtedly follow within a year and we shall then become a more rounded and complete periodical. In tone and method we have maintained and intend to maintain a certain forceful individuality. We do not expect to suit everybody among our friends at all times. We do expect to be sincere and to maintain our unerring way toward truth.

## OUR PRIZE CONTEST

THEORETICALLY one may look in various ways upon prize contests and undoubtedly this sort of thing has been done pretty thoroughly to death in most lines. Nevertheless, the limited concentrated effort to obtain certain results, stimulated by the offer of such small rewards or distinctions as stimulate generous rivalry without encouraging jealousy or envy,—this sort of effort is one of the most effective weapons which any organization can use. We have not used it much in the National Association and THE CRISIS has never attempted it. This fall, however, we are making a special effort and it would seem that every single one of the fifty branches and locals of the National Association ought to enter the contest. There is not one of them that could possibly fail to get at least one prize. Many, however, are deterred by the fear that as compared with their neighbors they might not make "a good showing." We sympathize with their modesty but the history of the world proves that the man who fails to try because he is afraid somebody else will do better has never succeeded in setting the world on fire at many places or many times. A strong, unselfish, adequate effort never brings cause for shame when compared with the efforts of others, even though the latter have brought greater results. We have a kind of feeling that those branches who do not enter this contest will in the end

be conscious of much poorer showing than those who enter and bring small but definite results.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THIS month 200,000 Negro voters will be called upon to vote on the question of giving the right of suffrage to women. THE CRISIS sincerely trusts that everyone of them will vote *Yes*. But THE CRISIS would not have them go to the polls without having considered every side of the question. Intelligence in voting is the only real support of democracy. For this reason we publish with pleasure Dean Kelly Miller's article against woman suffrage. We trust that our readers will give it careful attention and that they will compare it with that marvelous symposium which we had the pleasure to publish in our August number. Meantime, Dean Miller will pardon us for a word in answer to his argument.

Briefly put, Mr. Miller believes that the bearing and rearing of the young is a function which makes it practically impossible for women to take any large part in general, industrial and public affairs; that women are weaker than men; that women are adequately protected under man's suffrage; that no adequate results have appeared from woman suffrage and that office-holding by women is "risky."

All these arguments sound today ancient. If we turn to easily available statistics we find that instead of the women of this country or of any other country being confined chiefly to child-bearing they are as a matter of fact engaged and engaged successfully in practically every pursuit in which men are engaged. The actual work of the world today depends more largely upon women than upon men. Consequently this man-ruled world faces an astonishing dilemma: either Woman the Worker is doing the world's work successfully or not. If she is not doing it well why do we not take from her the necessity of working? If she is doing it well why not treat her as a worker with a voice in the direction of work?

The statement that woman is weaker than man is sheer rot: It is the same sort of thing that we hear about "darker races" and "lower classes." Difference, either physical or spiritual, does not argue weakness or inferiority. That the average woman is spiritually different from the average man is undoubtedly just as true as the fact that the average white man differs from the average Negro; but this is no reason for disfranchising the Negro or lynching him. It is inconceivable that any person looking upon the accomplishments of women today in every field of endeavor, realizing their humiliating handicap and the astonishing prejudices which they face and yet seeing despite this that in government, in the professions, in sciences, art and literature and the industries they are leading and dominating forces and growing in power as their emancipation grows,—it is inconceivable that any fair-minded person could for a moment talk about a "weaker" sex. The sex of Judith, Candace, Queen Elizabeth, Sojourner Truth and Jane Addams was the merest incident of human function and not a mark of weakness and inferiority.

To say that men protect women with their votes is to overlook the flat testimony of the facts. In the first place there are millions of women who have no natural men protectors: the unmarried, the widowed, the deserted and those who have married failures. To put this whole army incontinently out of court

and leave them unprotected and without voice in political life is more than unjust, it is a crime.

There was a day in the world when it was considered that by marriage a woman lost all her individuality as a human soul and simply became a machine for making men. We have outgrown that idea. A woman is just as much a thinking, feeling, acting person after marriage as before. She has opinions and she has a right to have them and she has a right to express them. It is conceivable, of course, for a country to decide that its unit of representation should be the family and that one person in that family should express its will. But by what possible process of rational thought can it be decided that the person to express that will should always be the male, whether he be genius or drunkard, imbecile or captain of industry? The meaning of the twentieth century is the freeing of the individual soul; the soul longest in slavery and still in the most disgusting and indefensible slavery is the soul of womanhood. God give her increased freedom this November!

Mr. Miller is right in saying that the results from woman suffrage have as yet been small but the answer is obvious: the experiment has been small. As for the risks of allowing women to hold office: Are they nearly as great as the risks of allowing working men to hold office loomed once in the eyes of the Intelligent Fearful?

## HAITIAN AND OTHER SAVAGES

SHORTLY after the declaration of hostilities between Turkey and Great Britain the Turkish authorities forcibly entered the Italian consulate somewhere in Arabia and removed the British consul, subjecting him to many indignities. Italy has entered into war against the Ally of Turkey but, although her own vital interests and the salvation of her Allies would seem to demand her participation in the attack upon the Dardanelles, Italy has not yet found sufficient cause to pick a quarrel with the Ottoman Empire.

Quite recently the governor of one of the most highly developed states of the United States was forced to resort to martial law to protect his own life and that of his family at the hands of citizens who opposed one of his public acts. Failing to lynch the governor of the chief of the lynching states, the habitual lynchers of Georgia burned him in effigy and, despite the efforts of a loyal and well organized military establishment, they continued to riot for several days, the governor meanwhile escaping into perhaps permanent exile.

Governor Slaton of Georgia was nearly killed because he had commuted to life imprisonment the death sentence of a man as to whose guilt of murder the governor claimed to have grave doubt, although this man had been convicted by the highest court in this great land. President Guillaume, of Haiti, was killed because he had ordered the execution without trial of more than one hundred men whose only crime was their alleged opposition to his governmental policies. Chief among the causes of opposition was President Guillaume's reputedly favorable attitude toward American administration of Haitian finances, and the people found little assurance of his sincerity or the success of his plans in face of the fact that, not many years before, citizen Vilbrun Guillaume had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to a term in prison for fraudulent transactions with foreign banking interests.

In view of the fact that a man who

held a position of public trust in New York has just been executed for graft and murder, a fact which leads to the reasonable conjecture that others undiscovered and untried are guilty of like crimes, it can hardly be said that civic morality and respect for law and order are special perquisites of the citizens of the United States. As between the mob in Georgia and the mob in Haiti, the balance of provocation is certainly in favor of the slayers of Guillaume, especially since the attackers of Governor Slaton are not charged with the degrading stimulus of the Vaudoux and Obeah. Since Italy is not at war with Turkey, there is little ground for the fulminations of the American press about the Black Republic's affront to the flag of France and the duty of the United States to secure redress therefor.

It is perhaps beyond doubt that in the bushes of Haiti are many people as primitive as their African forebears, but to credit their superstitions to the people who control the destinies of the second American republic is as ridiculous as to say that the Indian snake worshippers of the western deserts directed the actions of Harvard University, Wall Street and the White House.

There are thousands of Haitians at home and abroad who are not grafting politicians, who know nothing about the Vaudoux, and who would welcome any effort looking towards a solution of the difficulties which have given rise to the longest period of unrest that even Haiti has ever known, beginning practically seven years ago and culminating in the tragedy of the last week in July. But no intelligent Latin American entertains any illusions about the purposes of the proponents of the Monroe Doctrine. Haitians are aware that the slave holding United States was about the last important country to acknowledge the independence of the people who, having overthrown Negro slavery and French domination, gave men and arms and money to the destitute Bolivar and sent him on the expedition which ended in the liberation of half of South America from the Spanish yoke, a service which is commemorated by the statue of Alexandre Pétion in Caracas. Haitians are also aware that, until the interests of the United States seemed to dictate a change of policy, this country had taken no interest whatever in the political and economic conditions of the land of Toussaint l' Ouverture and Pétion, and we have yet to point to a single social or intellectual benefit conferred upon the first Latin American Republic by the great Anglo-Saxon nation of the North.

Under these circumstances it is natural to expect that Haitians who court outside assistance would seek it from nations which have had a closer but more disinterested contact with the one country in the world where enlightened Negroes—real Negroes, not merely colored people—enjoy the fullest measure of liberty and fraternity with men of similar tastes and equal attainments. Neither France nor England desires to possess the Mole St. Nicholas in order to dominate the Windward Passage. All South America knows that New York and San Francisco, cities greater in wealth and power than most Latin American states have each sent a mayor to jail for graft and that the largest state in the Union was barely satisfied with removing a governor from office for the same offense. Moreover, we have read about "deserving democrats" for jobs in foreign countries; we have seen Sullivan, not Tim, but the one who was sent to represent the American people in Santo Domingo by a government which prides itself on being the most high-minded, pacific, non-imperialistic which this country has had in many, many years.

American administration of Dominican

customs has not proved a cure-all for revolutions. The constant stream of American merchants, school teachers and office holders returning to the United States from Puerto Rico in the summer has given an air of prosperity to that island, but has not stilled the cry of woe of the peasant who bears the yoke of the rich absentee landlord and capitalist. Neither Santo Domingo nor Puerto Rico is distinctively a black man's country. Can the Haitians accept with equanimity the prospect of paying the salary of some "deserving democrat" who may have come from the Texas town where all the inhabitants turned out last month to make a holiday spectacle of the burning alive of a black man merely accused of murder?

Whatever may be the solution of Haiti's difficulties, it is certain that the people will not give their support to a government which even thinks of selling the Haitian's birthright of liberty, licentious as it may be, for the promise of a mess of American pottage. To one who sees the Black Republic with eyes other than those of Spenser St. John and the incorrigibly negrophobe editors of some of the American papers, foreign assistance in financial and other governmental problems could best be assured by the formation of a commission comprising nationals of the European powers having interests in Haiti and, as a matter of courtesy rather than necessity, delegates of the A. B. C. powers. If the United States could call into being such a commission and appoint a qualified representative to that body, some arrangement might be reached for the security of an orderly development of the Haitian people. But if they must accept enforced subjection to some foreign power, rather than submit to a nation controlled by a press which remains callous in the presence of horrors in Texas and Georgia while vociferously condemning German atrocities and Haitian savagery, the Haitians would sooner trust to the tender mercies of Count Reventlow, the Kaiser and Kultur. J. C.

## TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

MAY I venture earnestly to raise a question over the action of our government in Hayti, already unfortunately attended with bloodshed? I am one of those who were never satisfied that the Roosevelt administration had any right to establish a financial protectorate, with its attendant responsibilities, in Santo Domingo. I am surprised that a Democratic administration should follow Mr. Roosevelt's autocratic example, and seek to confirm another precedent of the same seriously questionable character. In neither case has the enterprise had any constitutional sanction, even of a previous vote by the Senate. Neither has there been opportunity for suitable discussion so as to determine the will of the people. It looks now as if the United States were not welcome to the Haytian people. We are actually engaged in war with them compelling our soldiers to lose their lives in subduing those who doubtless seem to themselves to be defending their liberties. Is not this course similar to German, or Russian, or British 'Order in Council' by which Empire has been arbitrarily extended, without the honest consent of either party in the transaction? You know how easily 'in the case of protectorates over uncivilized or half-civilized countries a development is inevitable: control quickly hardens into conquest.' Does the United States meditate the conquest of Hayti?

"Yours with high respect

"CHARLES F. DOLE."

## THE JIM CROW CAR

SOME time ago the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took up the question of Jim Crow cars with Mr. Louis Brandeis of the Interstate Commerce Commission and was advised by him that the Commission would not consider a general statement of conditions but only specific cases of discrimination brought in proper legal form. They would, however, review in conjunction with these cases, evidence gathered by a reliable investigator.

Since then the Association has practically perfected a case which will be described in later issues of THE CRISIS, and is now prepared to publish the material collected by its investigator, Prof. Montgomery Gregory of Howard University who generously volunteered his services. Prof. Gregory's itinerary included Columbia and Sumter, S. C.; Augusta, Tennille, Savannah, Waycross, Columbus, La Grange and Atlanta, Ga.; Birmingham, Opelika, Tuskegee, Montgomery, Selma and Uniontown, Ala.; Meriden, Miss.; New Orleans, La.; and Chattanooga, Tenn.; and his investigations covered the following railroads: The Southern, Seaboard, Atlantic Coast Line, Augusta Southern, Central of Georgia, Louisville and Nashville, Queen and Crescent, West Point, Alabama and Great Southern, and a number of smaller lines. A full report of his trip is now being prepared by Prof. Gregory and will be published in succeeding issues of THE CRISIS. He has summarized his report as follows:

The laws provide for equal accommodations for the passengers of both races, but the following conditions demonstrate that they are dead letters on the statute books:

1. Accommodations are not equal. The colored coaches are antiquated wooden cars which are often discarded white coaches.

2. Reservations for colored passengers are inadequate, the coaches often being dangerously overcrowded.

3. Sanitary conditions on colored coaches are indecent. The coaches are generally filthy. In some cases there is but one toilet for both men and women and that often in a foul condition.

4. White officials (conductors and brakemen) are often objectionable and insulting to colored passengers. They use the colored coach as dressing and lounging room and in some cases as a smoking room.

5. "Butchers" or venders use the Jim Crow coach as a storeroom for their cases of fruit, candy, cigars, soft drinks and magazines. They are frequently familiar and insulting in their manner to colored passengers.

6. White passengers have free access to the colored coach. They pass through it at will, lounge in it, and in many cases smoke in the presence of women and insult them.

7. Accommodations for long-distance colored passengers are disgraceful. Berths in Pullman cars cannot be secured except in rare cases so that the colored passenger must sit up all night in the unsanitary and uncomfortable Jim Crow coach. He may not even wash his face, for washing accommodations are rarely found. If he is hungry he must starve for he cannot enter the diner or eat at the counters of railway restaurants. Often he cannot even purchase food there to take away and eat because there is no time to serve him as white folks must come first.

These are the conditions that the colored man in this country is forced to meet daily while he pays the same fare as the white man. None of the many injustices inflicted upon the colored man is as harsh and as cruel as that of the Jim Crow car system. Other phases of race prejudice and hostility he may evade

or patiently endure, but there is no escape from the humiliation and discomfort of railway travel. The colored man and his family must travel and must in traveling submit to conditions that are galling to manhood and to decency, conditions that no decent, self-respecting people should endure. Everywhere the colored people are bitter in their protest against the accommodations and treatment given them by the railways.

Statutes of the states in providing for separate accommodations also require that these accommodations for both races shall be equal and therefore the objectionable features of the Jim Crow car are illegal and can be corrected.

It is hoped that the publication of Prof. Gregory's articles will arouse public sentiment against these conditions and that the Association will receive strong support in its fight to secure what the laws allow—equal accommodations for both races on the railways of the country. The Association would like to have aggravated cases of unfair or unjust treatment on Jim Crow cars sent in the form of affidavits to Prof. Montgomery Gregory in care of the N. A. A. C. P., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

In connection with Professor Gregory's report we quote below in part what a southern white man says about the "Jim Crow" car. Professor W. O. Scroggs, of Louisiana University, in an address delivered before the Southern Sociological Congress at Atlanta in 1913 said:

"Railways, however, while providing separate accommodations, have not undertaken to make these equal for both races. A short time ago I made a journey which involved travel on local trains over six different railway lines, and on only one of these did I find equal conveniences for white and black. On two trains the whites were furnished with modern vestibuled coaches, while the Negro coaches were of the antiquated open-platform pattern, very dingy and much less comfortable than the cars for whites. The rear half of one of these inferior coaches served as a smoking compartment for white men, while in the forward half Negro men and women, smokers and non-smokers, were herded together, with a single toilet for all. Another train carried its white passengers in a steel coach and its Negro patrons in a coach of wood. When I commented upon this to a gentleman from the West, he remarked: 'Well, I guess it costs the road more to kill a white man than a nigger, and so it takes extra precautions for us.'

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"This unfair treatment of the Negro by common carriers is inexcusable. No honest Southerner would countenance a white merchant's selling his Negro customer inferior goods at the same price at which he supplied his white patrons with a better article. Yet we allow our railways to do practically the same thing with impunity."

## BRANCHES AND LOCALS

*Columbus:*

This branch has been influential in securing the suspension of a police officer who, it was alleged, without warrant or excuse arrested Waldo and Harold Tyler, sons of Mr. Ralph W. Tyler, as they were returning to their home late at night. The boys were taken to the city prison and detained until two in the morning. Complaint was made against the officer by the Branch and the boys were represented by Mr. Robert B. Barcus of the Branch Executive Committee.

At the exercises held in St. Paul's A. M. E. Church to commemorate Emancipation Day, Dr. Washington Gladden gave a stirring address tracing the history of events which led up to emancipation and the change in public opinion in the country from the almost universal pro-slavery opinion of Pierce to the radical anti-slavery doctrine of Lincoln. He held out the hope that in time there would be another radical change in public opinion on the race problem which would afford the Negro the right to enjoy full manhood rights and to work out his own salvation without let or hindrance.

*Des Moines:*

The third quarterly meeting of the Des Moines Branch at the Union Congregational Church September 22d, was in honor of the celebration of the fifty-third anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and of the recent decision

of the Supreme Court on the grandfather cases, and was also the occasion of the launching of the membership campaign for the prize contest. Miss Margaret Roberts read the Proclamation of September 22d, 1862, and addresses were delivered by Hon. Caspar Schenck and attorneys Rush and Woodson, each of whom spoke upon different phases of the death of the grandfather clause. One of the speakers in his address brought out the fact that the very language of the Court in the Oklahoma case was anticipated by Attorney Brown in his thesis for his degree of Master of Arts thirteen years ago. Mr. Brown is the President of the Branch. Musical numbers were contributed by Miss Frederick and Mr. Griffith. Mr. Graves, the manager of the membership campaign, announced that there would be meetings of his captains every Monday evening.

*District of Columbia:*

The District of Columbia Branch had hardly been back in harness when it scored two triumphs. In one case a temporary skilled helper who had been employed in connection with getting out the emergency currency and federal reserve notes was dropped at the expiration of his appointment although several white men working in the same capacity but with lower averages were permanently appointed. Upon making inquiry the man was told by the acting director of his department that the other men had probably received their appointments because of greater experience, but the experience rating given by the Civil Service Commission at the time of his temporary appointment to the man who was afterward dropped was one hundred per cent. During his appointment the man lost no time, took no leave and worked generally on night shifts. The case was taken up by the President of the District of Columbia Branch with the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing with the result that the man has been certified for permanent appointment.

The other case was that of a young woman whose permanent appointment had been long delayed apparently without a satisfactory reason. As soon as the matter was brought to the attention of the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing by Mr. Grimké she received her appointment.

*Northern California:*

From a Northern California member comes the following news:

The name "Jewel City" was given to the Panama-Pacific Exposition by Virginia Stephens, a colored girl only twelve years old. Mrs. Mary Church Terrell tells us "one might travel a long distance before meeting a girl with brighter eyes, a more intelligent, pleasant countenance and a more prepossessing personality."

The Oakland *Enquirer* said editorially: "To an Oakland girl, Miss Virginia Stephens, belongs the honor of having first suggested the title that has been chosen as most appropriately expressing what the exposition city, fronting on the Golden Gate, really is. Thirteen hundred suggestions of titles were submitted."

MISS VIRGINIA STEPHENS

The San Francisco *Call and Post* says: "The young school girl of Oakland, Miss Virginia Stephens, who first suggested 'Jewel City' as the pet name for the fair has great reason to be proud of her faculty for striking a popular note and for seizing on the word which to the world becomes obviously the right one."

We regret to say that when it was discovered that Miss Stephens had colored blood there was a sudden silence on the part of the press and the only recognition ever given her was a season ticket to the grounds.

*St. Louis:*

The real estate group that is working for a segregation ordinance have found an effective ally in the photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation." In order to exhibit this play in St. Louis the producers had to secure an injunction restraining the order of the city authorities forbidding its production. Representatives of the real estate men stand at the doors of the theatre as the audience file out distributing copies of a weekly which is published by them under the name of "The Home Defender" and which purports "to disseminate truth in defense of St. Louis Homes." In contrast to this publication is a pamphlet by the Rev. George E. Stevens, pastor of the Central Baptist Church, called "Negro Segregation, a Measure to Assassinate a Race," which has the endorsement of ten thousand colored citizens.

Since the segregation issue was first raised the N. A. A. C. P. has been actively at work. One of its field agents, Miss Kathryn M. Johnson, has been in St. Louis for some time. During September over five thousand people have been reached through meetings which Miss Johnson addressed and which were held in the following churches: Lane Tabernacle, Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion, St. Paul's Chapel, Central Baptist, First Baptist, Union Memorial, and McPheeter's Presbyterian; also at the Sumner High School, Booker T. Washington Theatre, and the Young Women's Christian Association. The ministers of the city have been generous in devoting part of their morning and evening services to speakers from the Branch and have assisted in the work in many other ways. In this connection special mention should be made of the Rev. J. W. Lowe, Rev. George Stevens, Rev. B. F. Abbott, and Rev. F. F. Martin.

The Women's Auxiliary of the Finance Committee of the Branch has commenced a campaign for funds and in co-operation with Miss Johnson have secured the names of over a thousand people pledged to interest themselves and to contribute.

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WE go to press too early to include more than the mention of a report just received from Mr. Wilson describing the valuable work being done by our Boston Branch which has recently published a pamphlet entitled "Fighting a Vicious Film" which it is distributing broadcast throughout the country. The pamphlet includes letters, speeches and evidence used in the protest the Branch made against the film "The Birth of a Nation." In the next issue will also be included a description of the action of the Ohio Board of Censors in prohibiting this play, and the report from a London correspondent that it is soon to be shown in England.

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ON October 18th Miss Nerney, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., will start on a trip through the Middle West which will include the following cities in the order indicated: Columbus, Springfield, Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio, Indianapolis, Ind., St. Louis, Mo., Toledo and Cleveland, Ohio.

THE MEDAL PRESENTED MR. HAMMOND

(See page 13)

# THE RISK OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By KELLY MILLER

THE August number of THE CRISIS contained an interesting symposium on woman suffrage. The symposium was unusual, in that it involved only one side of a disputed issue. The contributors represent some of the ablest and most thoughtful names among us. They presented, presumably, the best possible putting of the cause espoused. The public, however, should not be misled to suppose that they represent the general attitude of the colored race on that question. Despite the ardent advocacy and plausible pleas of the propagandists, I am wholly unable to see wherein the experiment of woman suffrage promises any genuine advantage to social well-being.

The human race is divided horizontally by age, vertically by sex and diagonally by race. Each individual passes from the minor to the adult stage in course of a life time; the cleavage of race is subject to indefinite modification through environment and intermingling of blood; but sex is the one fixed and unalterable separatrix of mankind. The function of sex in human economy is clearly defined and well understood. The bearing and rearing of the young constitute the chief duty and responsibility of the female, and this task absorbs her highest energies during the most energetic period of her life. The family constitutes the fundamental social unit. Woman's sphere of activity falls mainly within while man's field of action lies largely without the domestic circle. This represents the traditional and, presumably, the ideal relation between the sexes. It has the sanction of divine authority and the test of human experience. Woman suffrage could not possibly enhance the harmoniousness of this relationship, but might seriously jeopardize it.

Woman is physically weaker than man and is incapable of competing with him in the stern and strenuous activities of public and practical life. In the final analysis, politics is a game of force, in which no weakling may expect to be assigned a conspicuous role.

As part of her equipment for motherhood, woman has been endowed with finer feelings and a more highly emotional nature than man. She shows tender devotion and self sacrifice for those close to her by ties of blood or bonds of endearment. But by the universal law of compensation, she loses in extension what is gained in intensity. She lacks the sharp sense of public justice and the common good, if they seem to run counter to her personal feeling and interest. She is far superior to man in purely personal and private virtue, but is his inferior in public qualities and character. Suffrage is not a natural right, like life and liberty. The common sense of mankind has always limited it by age, sex, possession, attainment and moral character. It is merely a convenient agency through which to secure the best result of government, and to make secure life, liberty and happiness to all. It cannot be maintained that woman is deprived of any of these objects under male suffrage. It is inconceivable that man would legislate against his wife and daughter, who are dearer to him than life itself, and who, he knows, must fall back upon his strong arm for protection, whether they be given the suffrage or not.

The historical hardships and legal disabilities against which women complain so bitterly were incidental imperfections of social development. Most of these have already been swept away, as all of them are bound to be, by man's growing sense of justice and fair play.

Female suffrage has been tried in twelve states of the Union, but so far no genuine public benefit has resulted therefrom, nor has the lot of woman been ameliorated more rapidly than in other states under exclusive male suffrage.

There may be some argument for suffrage for unfortunate females, such as widows and hopeless spinsters, but such status is not contempiated as a normal social relation.

Women as voters would undoubtedly stand against the purely masculine vices such as drunkenness and the social evil, but they can be equally or even more

efficacious through non-political influence.

The logical sequence of suffrage is office-holding. Female suffrage will never reach its full fruition until fully one-half of all public offices, legislative, judicial and executive, local and national, are filled by women. Is the public mind ready for this risky innovation?

It is alleged that Negro suffrage and woman suffrage rest on the same basis. But on close analysis it is found that there is scarcely any common ground between them. The female sex does not form a class separate and distinct from the male sex in the sense that the Negro forms a class separate and distinct from the whites. Experience and reason both alike show that no race is good enough to govern another without that other's consent. On the other hand both experience and reason demonstrate that the male seeks the welfare and happiness of the female even above his own interest. The Negro can not get justice or fair treatment without the suffrage. Woman can make no such claim, for man accords her not only every privilege which he himself enjoys but the additional privilege of protection.

The fundamental defect in the propaganda of woman suffrage consists in the fact that instead of confining its effort to the improvement of woman's lot along the line of her obvious sphere and function in the social scheme, it insists upon her privilege and opportunities being artificially identical with those of man. It is amusing to note that women are to be allowed to vote at twenty-one merely because men are accorded the privilege at that age; whereas according to their physical and mental developments, the sexes have a different order of maturity. If the strictly physiological and psychological basis of male suffrage is placed at twenty-one, female suffrage should be placed at eighteen. If man should be allowed to vote on the first appearance of a mustache, some woman would doubtless demand the same privilege.

Male and female created He them; what God has made different man strives in vain to make identical.

* * * *

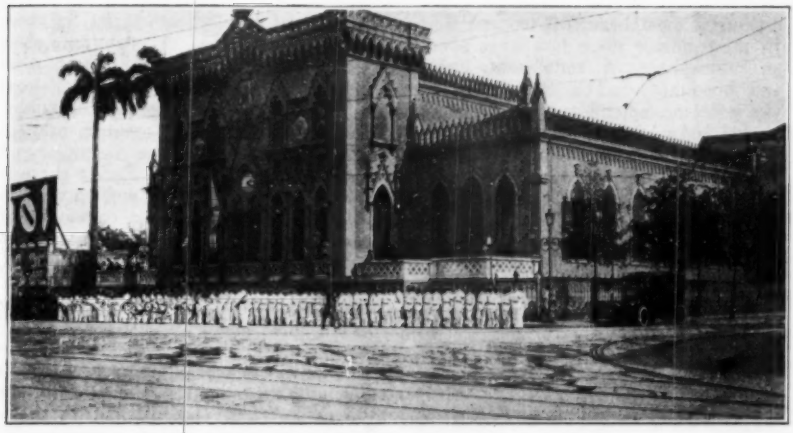
# GLIMPSES OF BRAZIL

By R. W. MERGUSON

BRAZIL occupies about one-half the land area of South America. It is larger than the United States without Alaska and is the third largest country in the world, Russia and China alone being larger. Most of its land lies in the southern hemisphere. So vast is its territory, so dense its thousands of leagues of tropical forests, and so inadequate are its transportation facilities, that it remains today the one country about which least is known. The upper Amazon basin, in the states of Amazones and Matto Grosso, states larger than empires, has hardly as yet been trod by the foot of civilized man. All the countries of Europe, except Russia, could be placed within its borders and still there would be sufficient territory left to accommodate a portion of the United States.

From the Guianas on the north to the Republic of Uruguay on the south is a distance of nearly four thousand miles. Practically all of South America lies east of North America. Should one travel directly south from Chicago and continue his journey as far south as the latitude of Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, he would be in the Pacific Ocean a thousand miles from the west coast of South America and Rio Janeiro would be two thousand five hundred miles east.

With its territory covering forty degrees of latitude, Brazil enjoys several varieties of climate. The general yet erroneous opinion is that as a whole it has only a tropical climate. This is not so. Near the equator and up the Amazon Valley the climate is oppressive, rainfall



THE POLICE PARADING BEFORE THE CITY HALL, RIO JANEIRO

is abundant and the vegetation the most luxuriant to be found anywhere on the globe. In this humid, sultry climate in the Amazon forests, is the home of the rubber tree. Farther to the south the climate becomes more agreeable and salubrious. In the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catharina the climate is temperate, somewhat like our own southern states.

Rio Janeiro is situated just in the tropics. It occupies about the same relative position south of the equator that Havana, Cuba, does north. The maximum temperature at Rio never exceeds one hundred degrees fahrenheit. The nights are always cool and comfortable, this being due to the sea breezes which blow shoreward each evening.

Brazil has the greatest river system in the world. The Amazon with its thousands of tributaries drains a territory six times larger than France. This mighty pulsating artery is some four thousand miles long. The volume of water which it carries is so great, and the force so tremendous, that for more than a hundred miles from shore its waters have not mingled with the blue waters of the Atlantic. The most brilliant and gay plumaged birds in the world are found near this river.

The oldest city in the new world is Bahia. The approach from the sea to this city of 350,000 inhabitants is impressive: the dark green tropical foliage and the tall majestic palms piercing the skies, and every where a riot of color, make a picture of surpassing beauty.

By far the larger proportion, about ninety-five per cent of its 350,000 people are Negroes. Pernambuco, a city of 250,000 people is next. Bahia has three times as many Negroes as Washington, D. C., which has something like 100,000, and there are more Negroes in this city than in any other city in the world. There are also many Negroes in Rio Janeiro but the racial mixture there is so general and thorough that it is difficult to state with any degree of accuracy the exact number.

Bahia was the slave center of South America, where thousands and hundreds of thousands of African slaves have been landed since the sixteenth century. The Bahian Negro of today is similar to the American Negro, but with a larger infusion of Indian blood.

Bahia is a city of contrasts. The upper town is the most beautiful of cities, with clean, well paved streets, houses in bright colors, with roofs of pink and sides in various shades. Its parks, plazas and theatres are inviting and agreeable. The domes and spires of its scores of churches stand in bold relief against the azure sky. No other city of its size in the world can boast of more churches.

In a climate like this, where vegetation is so profuse, each dwelling has its own miniature park with trees and flowers,

making a most beautiful tropical home. In these homes there is always present an atmosphere of refinement, culture and hospitality. The Brazilian makes you welcome, he endeavors to please and to that end no inconvenience is too great if it will serve the traveler to have pleasant reminiscences of Brazil and her people.

The lower city on the other hand reeks in filth and disease. There seems to be no thought given to sanitary measures. On all sides is seen refuse piled in heaps, in all stages of decomposition and the fumes permeate the air with many foul odors. Other contrasts in the city are everywhere apparent: some of the fairest and loveliest people one would wish to look upon, and also some of the most ungainly and ugly. Here are the fabulously rich and the miserably poor. Intelligence and ignorance, refinement and vulgarity are present, for Brazil is a country where aristocracy of wealth is all powerful and predominant.

Although the thermometer registered one hundred degrees in the shade the lower town presented a scene of great commercial activity. It is the commercial center of Bahia. Hundreds of natives were busily engaged in loading and discharging cargoes of dozens of ships at their moorings. Rambling mule-drawn carts full of sugar-cane formed a continual procession.

Bahia is one of the largest exporting cities of Brazil. Its chief exports are hides, sugar, tobacco, cotton and diamonds. Although the output of diamonds from the Kimberley mines in South Africa is greater, the largest, most brilliant and valuable stones come from the state of Bahia. They are mined principally by Negroes.

How polite these people are! In answer to your questions it is always *Si Senor* or *No Senor* with a suavity and polish which seem to be inbred. Their thanks for your purchases are effusive and appreciative. This is a characteristic trait of the Brazilian! He is polite. No matter how illiterate or ignorant he may be he has time to be polite. A more courteous, quiet and well behaved people could hardly be found.

It is in Bahia that one first gets a glimpse of the great racial mixture which is in process of evolution. The Indian element is predominant in most of the South American Republics, least so, however, in the Argentine Republic. The Negro element is greatest in Brazil. From Panama to the Argentine and from the Atlantic to the Pacific there is no color prejudice. It is well to remember that the Brazilian is a composite of three races, viz., Portuguese, Negro and Indian. The early Portuguese settlers, not bringing wives with them, readily intermingled with the natives; and thus sprang into existence a large and increasing population of Mestizos. Africans were later brought over as slaves and with them unions resulted with the Portuguese and Indians and thus another element was added to the population. Brazil today has about as heterogeneous a population as any country in the world. The mixture is so general and diffused that color ostracism does not exist. In fact, it cannot exist.

Some of the finest people are these colored Brazilians. They are fully acquainted with the infamous conditions in the United States. They know of the lynchings, "Jim Crow" legislation and the wanton disrespect for law and order that are so prevalent here in the States. These forms of injustice a Brazilian will readily tell you he cannot conceive of existing in his country. Never in Brazil will American prejudices, hatreds and the doctrine of inferiority of races become implanted!

First, the Brazilian is a Brazilian. It chafes him to be taken for a Spaniard or a member of some other race. Whether he be black or white, in answer to your question he will courteously reply: "I am a Brazilian!" No matter what color he may be there is no other designation. From his emphasis and tone you could judge that he was rightly proud of his country. How could a man be otherwise when the government under which he lives gives him every opportunity, encouragement and assistance to achievement and recognizes him as a man possessing the same feelings, aspirations and ambitions as another?

The approach to Rio Janeiro on a clear day presents a panorama which

for picturesque beauty cannot be duplicated the world over. The majestic "Sugar Loaf" is a solid bare rock jutting from the sea a thousand feet into the air. The beautiful villas dotting the shore, the surrounding mountains and the waving palms lend their charm and beauty to adorn this, the wonder city. The bay is set with numerous islands blossoming in tropical verdure, like rare gems set in a background of torquoise. Steaming into the bay one passes several forts equipped with the latest guns and manned by Negroes. With the aid of binoculars dozens of them can be seen in their bright uniforms, promenading the parapets.

The founding of Rio dates back from the middle of the sixteenth century. Today it has a population of 1,100,000 composed principally of Portuguese, Negroes, Indians and their varying degrees of mixtures. It is impossible to single out any one predominating type, such is the heterogeneity of the population. What a kaleidoscope of color in her inhabitants! There is an indiscriminate intermingling of white, black, brown, yellow and dozens of other hues and variations. In Pernambuco and Bahia nearly every one is black but going south toward the temperate zone they become fewer in numbers and almost disappear in the southern states. Blacks are not very numerous in Rio but the majority of the people have at least a tinge of Negro blood coursing through their veins. Even in the upper classes this same blood is there, many of them appearing like mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons. The specious argument that such racial intermixtures bring into existence a hybrid both mentally and physically inferior to either of the parent stock has no foundation here. There are no signs of this deterioration anywhere in Brazil.

Of all the countries in South America Brazil is the one best disposed towards the United States. Although the sentiment is not pro-American it is not strictly anti-American. Their attitude is one more of indifference. In the other countries, and especially in Argentine, the sentiment is strongly anti-American. The Yankee, or gringo, as he is reproachfully called, is not at all liked or welcomed.

BRAZILIAN SAILORS ON THE WHARF, RIO JANEIRO

For the ambitious and intelligent colored man, in quest of fairer fields for expansion and growth, for an atmosphere not tainted or permeated by the endless varieties and forms of race prejudice to be found in the United States, it might be well to turn his attention in the direction of Brazil. For the man without capital, the inducements are not alluring. Far from it. But if he has capital, or if a professional man or woman seeks an unrestricted and welcome environment, Brazil offers many inducements. Doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers and professional men in any line do well. Living is high but high fees are paid for services. The warm sentiment of the people for those educated in our schools is exemplified in their support of such men. The colored American doctor, trained and educated as he is in modern therapeutics and

surgery, has an unlimited field; likewise the dentist.

All that one gets in Rio he pays for, and many times he pays for things he does not get. On the whole the cost of living will approximate three times that of the cost here in the United States.

The average working man earns from three to six milreis a day, that is a dollar to two dollars. Policemen, conductors and firemen receive about the same pay. Most all these men are colored. From the lowest strata to the highest the colored man is represented. In all walks of life he is present.

In all parts of Brazil there is an appalling mass of illiteracy. About 75 per cent of the people are illiterate. Schools are few and the training received in them is slight and wholly inadequate to fit the student for the practical affairs of every day life. In the school administration, as well as in other branches of the government, system and method are woefully lacking. It is not compulsory to send your child to school and with these lax school laws it is easy to see what degree of interest a large proportion of illiterate parents, having little thought or interest for the future, will manifest for their children. Each state has its own school laws and primary instruction comes within its jurisdiction. University training, however, is under Federal control. In the whole of Brazil there are not more than 10,000 public schools. There is as yet no university.

The fighting force of Brazil, army and navy, is composed largely of men of color. In the United States we would say Negroes. Brazil's navy today has three super-dreadnoughts: the "Rio Janeiro" of 27,500 tons displacement, which cost about $15,000,000, the "Sao Paulo" and "Minas Geraes" of 21,000 tons. The navy consists of some thirty-six vessels composed of cruisers, torpedo boats, gunboats, submarines and destroyers. Almost the entire crews of these super-dreadnoughts, dreadnoughts and other fighting craft are Negroes.

The national holiday is celebrated the 7th of September. On one such occasion I witnessed the grand review of 20,000 Brazilian soldiers and sailors. Their line extended for more than eight miles and it required two hours for them to pass the reviewing stand of the president and his party. These thousands of men composing the artillery, infantry, cavalry and navy were mostly Negroes. Whites and blacks were mixed indiscriminately together in the different divisions. There were, however, a few companies composed wholly of whites. There were 200,000 of the Rio population present and this assemblage was unstinted in its praise, and cheers and shouts of acclamation. Their morale will pass muster with soldiers of the leading nations. They were not tramps and ragamuffins as some pictures I have seen would indicate. Their equipment was of the latest and most improved type. As for their bravery and valor, it suffices to say that these virtues have been demonstrated many times in the different wars in which Brazil has participated.

From Rio to Santos, the greatest coffee port in the world, is a voyage of about twenty hours on one of the coast line steamers.

From Santos to Sao Paulo takes two hours. Leaving Santos the grade of the Sierra do Mar mountains is steep and a large part of the way cables are used in making the ascent. At every station there was a brilliantly uniformed soldier, and he was always a man of color. The Italian immigration to this state has been heavy and today Italians form the larger percentage of the new-comers. There are at least a million of them here. They come poor but by their frugality and excessive parsimony are, in many cases, able to amass much wealth in the growing of coffee. Coffee is to this state and city what rubber is to the Acre territory, and tobacco is to Bahia; it is the very life and revenue of the state. Many Negroes are employed on these coffee fazendas as pickers but they are not so numerous as a little farther north in the state of Minas Geraes.

Sao Paulo is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the new world. It is the meeting place of east, west, north and south and all upon a plane of equality. There were all the races of Europe, representatives from Africa, Turkey, Arabia, India, China, Japan, and in fact from all quarters of the globe. There is hardly another place in the world where so many different races may be found, living peacefully together, without racial hatreds and animosities, working out

their common destiny. It is in truth the exemplification of Christian teachings.

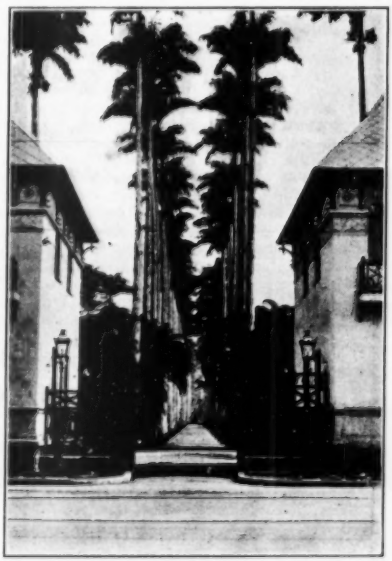
As to a man's social standing in Brazil, color has no weight. Wealth alone determines the sphere in which he moves. Here we have a white class and a black class. In Brazil is a rich class and a poor class, and it is almost as impossible for the poor illiterate to become rich there as it is here for black to become white. Most of the Negroes belong to the poor class. Indiscriminate commingling and intermarriage with the whites goes on continually in this class. They associate together, eat together, live together, attend the same schools, churches and places of amusement. Higher in the social scale the Negro becomes fewer in number, his blood thins out, and finally, for all that we can tell from external appearances, disappears. American writers have said that the line was drawn and the Negro, therefore, excluded because he was a Negro. When I was there I saw evidences of Negro blood in all circles from the highest to the lowest. If a man, white or black, is absent from any class it is because he has not the essential requirements to belong to that class, and the desideratum in Brazil is money and not color.

Many Negroes have won renown in the arts and professions. In medicine, law, music and journalism they have won distinction and fame. The highest offices in the land today are filled by men of color. In the business field, however, he is not so well represented. Many enterprises are operated by men who appear colored but here in the states might not be so considered.

The condition of the country Negroes is one not to be envied. Their life is very primitive and not far removed in development from the native African. Their houses are adobe huts, poorly constructed, with roofs of tile. The bare ground serves as a floor and there are no windows. Each dwelling is surrounded by its clump of banana or orange trees. The Negro's pay is small when he does work and he is forced to lead a wretched existence. Often he is shiftless, working spasmodically, and with no thought of the future. The climate is bounteous in supplying him with his few wants and he needs have little thought of the morrow. He lives in the direst poverty, the darkest ignorance and the blindest superstition. He cannot send his children to school for the federal and state governments do not provide adequate facilities for instruction. Schools are so few that not more than three per cent of the population are able to attend.

All the large manufacturing concerns in Rio Janeiro, gas, electric light and street railways are owned and operated by foreigners. The largest stores are also run by them. In other parts of the Republic mines and other concessions are operated with their capital.

Wise leadership and direction must eventually come from the native Brazilian that Brazil may be guided to a destiny resplendent and crowned with glorious achievement. It was with the deepest regret that we bade farewell to this great continent of the south. Memories most cherished will long linger of our cordial welcome and pleasant sojourn in Brazil where for once, at least, in our lives we were *Men* and treated as such.



ENTRANCE TO THE BOTANICAL GARDEN, RIO JANEIRO

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